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132 washed up on them; at least four of these are now in Inishbofin, and large quantities of drift of various kinds are thrown up on the shores from time to time.

The botany and zoology of the islands is outside of the scope of the 137 present Paper, but a few words of general description may help to make the picture of the place more complete.

Here, as elsewhere, on our western coast, there is a tradition that the islands were at one time well wooded; and this is corroborated by the occasional discovery of tree-trunks in the bogs. At the present day, though under the influence of the warm, moist climate, other vegetation flourishes, trees of any sort cannot be got to grow, and all attempts to rear them have hitherto been failures, as the strong winds quickly destroyed them. Even in the most sheltered spots bushes will hardly grow, and there are not a dozen of five feet in height to be found in the islands.

Large numbers of sea-birds nest on the rocky islets round the 136 coasts; pigeons in large numbers inhabit the caves of Inishshark, and, until within a few years ago, eagles used regularly to nest on a high pinnacle of rock, known as the Boughal, in the channel between the islands. Rabbits and rats are both very plentiful; but hares, bats, weasels, and frogs are not found on either island.

Around the coast, porpoises, sea-otters, and seals (which latter [821] are looked upon as forerunners of stormy weather when they appear) are often seen, and the "sun-fish" (*Selache maxima*, the great basking shark) appears usually about the end of March; it leaves nearly always before the end of June, and was until a few years ago regularly fished for.

III.—Anthropography.

1. *Methods.*—These do not require any very extended notice, being 125 practically the same as those employed last year, and described in the report on the Aran investigation. A few changes were made, consisting mainly in the substitution of measurements and instruments shown by experience to be needed, for some which had proved unnecessary, and the use of the new observation form provisionally adopted by the Irish Sub-Committee for the Ethnographic Survey of the British Association. This form, though not perfect, proved to be of much value for field work as, owing to its arrangement, observations can be made with much greater rapidity than is possible by the old system; and the chance of omitting any important point is almost entirely avoided. The economy of time alone is a point of much im-

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portance when there are several persons to be examined, for, if kept waiting, they will most probably either slip off or refuse to be measured. 125

(A). *Hair and Eye Colour.*—In the obtaining of these data the methods, cards, and tables were precisely the same as those used in the expedition to Aran, to the report of which the reader is referred for particulars.

(B). *Measurements.*—These were, with the exceptions hereafter mentioned, the same as previously. The head circumference and external binocular breadth, not having proved satisfactory, were omitted, and for them were substituted:—(1). The upper face length measured from the naso-frontal suture to the separation between the central incisors at the gum. (2). The height sitting. This, though it is certainly a most valuable measurement, for which reason it was inserted in the observation schedule, was found to be altogether unsuited for field work, as it could only be taken in a few exceptional cases, so I had reluctantly to abandon it. (3). Auriculo-mental radius, measured with the Dublin craniometer, from the centre of the ear-hole to the point of the chin.

(C). *Instruments used.*—These consisted of Garson's anthropometer, a sliding measure for the limbs, Broca's compas d'épaisseur and compas glissière and a Chesterman steel tape. Instead of the fixed metallic Cunningham craniometer, the new portable pattern of the same instrument (made specially for field work by Messrs. Robinson, of Grafton-street, Dublin) was taken, and stood the test well, being quite as rigid as the older pattern when set up, and, as it is made of boxwood, much lighter. Its portability is a great advantage, as by the removal of one screw-bolt the whole instrument may be disjointed and carried in the coat-pocket. A set of Snellen test-types for accurately estimating the keenness of eyesight was also taken, and proved to be very useful. 126

The whole, with note-books and observation forms, were carried, fitted in a canvas knapsack, and, as they weighed under ten pounds, were light enough to be easily carried even in long walks over very rough ground.

(D). *Remarks on the Methods employed.*—There were several difficulties experienced in the making of the observations this year, due partly to the visit being made at harvest time when most of the people were engaged in the fields, partly to local causes, the principal of which were the shyness of the people, the manner in which the hair of most of the women was covered by the shawl which was drawn more closely on the approach of a stranger, and the closeness with 124 [609] [241] [302]

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extreme north point of the peninsula. Off this part of the coast lies Eagle Island, high and rocky in coast and surface, and a lighthouse-station. From Frenchport (or rather Annagh Head, its southern boundary) southward, the coast is sandy beach, shingle, and low rocks, and is backed to a large extent by rolling ranges of sandhills. Off this part of the coast lie Iniskea and Duvillaun, having a sandy or rocky shore, and a surface of no great elevation. The eastern shore along Blacksod Bay and Broadhaven is sheltered and low.

The surface of the Mullet does not reach any very great elevation, the highest point in the northern part being 410 feet above sea level, and the rounded granite hill of Tarmon, in the extreme south, 369 feet. It is much diversified, a good deal of it being fertile land, especially on the east side, but in the north part there is a good deal of bog and moor, and in the south and west rolling sandhills barely held in check by bent. In some of the narrower portions a fertile belt lies between two sandy ones.

The district of Portacloy is a wild mountainous region, with a coast of precipitous cliffs of great height, and riddled with caves. Benwee Head, which rises above the sea to the height of 1000 feet, is just outside the mouth of the deep narrow inlet which forms the harbour. The surface of this part of the district is very wild, and consists largely of bog and mountain. The climate is very mild, frost and snow being of infrequent occurrence and not lasting for long, but the rains are heavy and almost constant during the greater part of the year, and storms are frequent and severe.

Vegetation flourishes well, but, owing to the storms, trees are very few and only grow in sheltered localities.

The whole district is largely cut off from the outer world by the wide stretch of wild and sparsely peopled country through which the mail road from Ballina runs.[1]

III.—ANTHROPOGRAPHY.

1. *Methods.*—The methods employed did not differ to any great extent from those made use of on the two previous occasions. A few

[1] I am indebted to Mr. G. H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., for the following note on the geology of the Mullet:—The south rough portion is granite, while the north rough portion is in part Archæan (*query, the equivalent of the Sutherland Algonkian rocks* that *have been called Old Bay*), and in part of Archæan quartzite (query, the equivalents of the Scotch Torridan Sandstone); while the central portion is occupied by schists of an uncertain age that lie unconformably on the Archæan rock to the northward.

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125 changes were made to bring our observation form into closer accord with that adopted by the Ethnographic Survey Committee of the British Association for use in England. The new form admits of very rapid noting, and in collecting easily and accurately the main physical characters of the persons examined. It has not, however, any advantage over the old form, of which it is a modification, in the convenience of working up results, in fact it is inferior in this respect as the spaces for indices at the bottom of the page, which are omitted, proved a great help in tabulating the results of the Inishbofin Survey; another defect is that some of the points to be noted are not strictly defined, and leave too much to the personal opinion of the observer.

(A.) *Hair and eye colour.*—No change was made in this part of the work, the method being exactly that used on the two previous occasions. For full particulars the reader is referred to the Report on the visit to the Aran Islands.[1]

(B.) *Measurements and instruments.*—These were the same as formerly employed, with two additions:—(1) *The height of the head*; and (2) *height of cranium*, both projections, directions for taking which were printed on the observation forms. These measurements were given a trial, as they form part of the series on the English form, but after a time they were abandoned for reasons given below.

126 The same set of instruments as used in Inishbofin was carried, packed in a canvas case. It consisted of compas d'epaisseur, compas glissière, the portable pattern of Cunningham's craniometer, Garson's anthropometer, steel tape, Snellen test types, note books, nigrescence cards, and observation forms, as before. The only new appliance was a Trinity hand camera, made by Messrs. Curtis, Suffolk-street, Dublin, which, though subjected to rather rough treatment, stood the test admirably and did very satisfactory work. When not in use it was carried in a stout waterproof case slung over the shoulder.

(C). *Remarks on methods employed.*—The work had to be carried on 124 under rather different circumstances from those experienced before, as the weather prevailing during my visit to the district was not too well suited for field work, the rains being frequent and heavy, and the wind very strong, besides this, the population is much more scattered than any dealt with before, and long journeys had often to be made for very little result. In some ways, however, the work

[1] Ethnography of the Aran Islands, Co. Galway, Proc. R. I. A., vol. II., 3rd ser., p. 768.

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

is a three-story tower house with its south and west walls partially destroyed. The middle story of the castle rests on vaults, and there are carved corbels projecting from the north and east walls. It is believed that the castle was assaulted in 1652 from the land side by Cromwellian troops, who disembarked at the back of the island and hauled their heavy cannons across the limestone pavement, unimpeded by the stone fences which stand today, to the monastery above the tower.

Queen Elizabeth annexed Inis Beag for the Crown in 1586 because of its strategic position, after two contending Irish families had appealed to her following their fierce battle for its possession, in which all of the folk may have been slaughtered. From 1586 until the first decade of the eighteenth century, Commonwealth, Loyalist, and Williamite forces were stationed in Inis Beag most of the time, and until 1886, when obtained by the Irish Land Commission, the island was owned by a succession of absentee Anglo-Irish landlords. When Cromwellian troops forced the surrender of Loyalists in 1652, the population of Inis Beag once again may have been decimated, although one legend holds that only males were put to the sword. The island after 1655 became a port for transshipment of clerics who were exiled to the West Indies. This was the time when Cromwell revenged himself on Irish Catholics and their Protestant allies by appropriating for his followers more than half of the Irish soil and leveling harsh political, commercial, and religious penalties. Thousands of priests were banished, including all of the bishops for a time, in his crusade.

It was after the Restoration in 1660 that the land of Inis Beag was divided into quarters, half-quarters, and smaller units and assigned to families. My genealogical research reveals that all of the families of Inis Beag trace descent from immigrants who arrived in the island during and after the last half of the seventeenth century. The early arrivals, as well as any survivors, may have intermarried and interbred with soldiers posted in the island, for anthropometric and blood group analyses (buttressed by surname and historical evidence and local legend) show that the folk more closely resemble the northern English than they do their mainland cousins. A Dublin humor magazine featured a cartoon, not favored in nativistic quarters, showing Inis Beag men in traditional attire playing cricket.

The islanders still express considerable bitterness over the conditions of poverty and servitude experienced by their ancestors during the 300 years that they lived under alien landlords. All of the excesses of foreign domination suffered by mainland peasants were suffered by Inis Beag folk, but were aggravated by the ordinary hardships of island living. Little is known of local events in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, until the island was "rediscovered" by Petrie and O'Flaherty. There was trading between Inis Beag and communities along the mainland coast for many miles, and ships passing by often dropped anchor at the island; but at that time this region of Ireland was very much isolated and seldom visited. A military garrison once again was established in Inis Beag for a brief period during the Napoleonic Wars, when the English feared an invasion of the British Isles from the west by French forces. A watch tower was constructed on the island, one of a chain along the Atlantic coast of Ireland, to give early warning of invasion.

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by choice, an old woman said, "City folk are always troubled. They aren't their own bosses, and they get up too early and work too hard. They face the dangers of traffic, and, worst of all, they meet with temptations of the flesh."

In the last chapter, I discussed two facets of the Inis Beag self-image: their seldom admitted poverty and indolence. Other facets have just been revealed in their appraisals of various groups, and still more are apparent when one examines their attitudes toward visitors to the island. During the summer, they enjoy the presence of strangers on the strand at steamer time, in the pubs, and at parties, and when winter comes many conversations dwell on those who were "great gas" —entertaining in song, dance, or repartee. But outsiders fulfill a far deeper need, in that most of them express admiration for the island and its inhabitants. They praise the beauty, antiquities, and history of Inis Beag, but more importantly the friendliness of the people and those customs and personality traits publicized by writers and film producers, which are "discovered" even when nonexistent or considerably "diluted." Departing tourists usually vow that they will return, and they are asked repetitiously what it was that so pleased them and if they will be "lonesome after they leave." Reflected here are the profound feelings of inferiority of the folk and their need for constant reassurance of their worth. Much of the depression among islanders during winter months is related to the absence of outsiders who stimulate them and are subjects of gossip.

The people of Inis Beag regard themselves as friendly, polite, and hospitable to outsiders—not at all like their Inis Thiar neighbors, who are said not to like tourists and to extort money from them for giving information and allowing themselves to be photographed. Strangers never are derided for behaving in a disapproved fashion but are "treated with dignity," although some men will try to gain free drinks and other favors from outsiders in a calculating and beguiling manner (called "being cute" in Ireland), which is frowned on by the majority of folk. During the summer when tourists are plentiful, many islanders behave according to the nativistic and primitivistic expectations of the strangers: a[illegible] becomes more traditional and newer costumes are worn, canoes are rowed with greater vigor, conversations become more boastful, and the like. The sensitivity of the islanders to nativism and primitivism is quite selective, however, in that they extol certain of their indigenous customs and are ashamed of others. Actions which give credence to such character traits as spirituality, strength, and courage are exaggerated, while those which belie such traits as independence, self-reliance, and industriousness are carefully hidden. My wife and I kept a careful record of the responses of Inis Beag folk to questions that we posed concerning their history and culture when we first visited the island in 1958. More than 40 replies turned out to be erroneous, and some of them would have done credit to the most ardent nativist or primitivist.

Most tourists who visit Inis Beag share a mystique fostered by interpretations of island life in the works of writers and film producers. A similar mystique is found elsewhere in the world among idealized primitive and peasant peoples. In Inis Beag, it often causes visitors to seek acceptance from the folk, to resent the presence of other outsiders, to boast of their intimate knowledge of Inis Beag customs, and, in some cases, to "go native" in so far as circumstances permit.